CROSSROAD

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ON CAPTURED CITIZENS, POLITICAL PRISONERS, AND PRISONERS OF WAR: A NEW AFRIKAN PERSPECTIVE

Owusu Yaki Yakubu

The New Afrikan Independence Movement (NAIM) continues to have a need for a clear, commonly-held stand (i.e., shared consciousness; further development, dissemination, and grasp of the ideological, theoretical, and political bases of our line) on New Afrikan citizens held in U.S. prisons and jails. This stand is particularly necessary, in some respects, relative to our captured nationals, i.e., conscious New Afrikan citizens who are held as political prisoners and prisoners of war. (1)

We need this stand so that it can serve as a guide to enhance our work around prisons and prisoners. The consciousness which inspires our work with and for New Afrikan prisoners is the same consciousness which guides all other work, with and for all New Afrikan people, around all other issues and institutions that affect our lives.

The components of our stand are: 1) the relationship between New Afrikan people on the one hand, and the U.S. and its prisons on the other; 2) two levels of consciousness which distinguish conscious citizens from uncounscious citizens; 3) the character of the activity which distinguishes captured unconscious citizens from political prisoners and prisoners of war.

The relationship between New Afrikan people and the U.S. settler-imperialist state, is one between oppressed and oppressor nations. This fundamental distinction was emphasized when We issued, in effect, a declaration of war (the New Afrikan **DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE**), wherein We proclaimed ourselves "free and independent of the jurisdiction of the United States of America and the obligations which that country's unilateral decision to make our ancestors and ourselves paper-citizen placed on us." We then went on to list the basic objectives of the New Afrikan **national liberation revolution.**

The New Afrikan Independence Movement is not a "prison movement" — it is a movement in the process of becoming a State. The process requires the assumption of ever greater responsibility for the welfare of all New Afrikan people, as We seek to become recognized by them as their legitimate representatives (i.e., as their government, and vis-a-vis the U.S. and the world community). The movement should, therefore, begin to manifest greater cooperation, centralization, and coordination, and it should become more adept at the proportional allocation and expenditure of resources, based on the strategic and/or tactical priority given the various fronts and the projects undertaken within them.

Because New Afrikans are engaged in a struggle for national independence and socialism, our aim, relative to the U.S. prison system, is not to reform it. We plan to secure the release of all New Afrikan citizens from U.S. prisons — but We will do so only as a consequence of national liberation revolution.

In the short term, We'll continue to be concerned with such things as securing the release of certain prisoners, and with struggling to improve the treatment and the living conditions of captured citizens and nationals. However, the success of these efforts will greatly depend upon our success in

educating, organizing and mobilizing our people on all other fronts. This will, in turn, be dependent upon the movement's ability to effectively engage in struggle in all spheres of the lives of New Afrikan people.

Our stand on New Afrikan citizens held in U.S. prisons and jails also rests on our consideration of the different levels of consciousness among them, and upon recognition of the different kinds of activity that they are and/or were engaged in.

The distinction between **"conscious"** and "unconscious" New Afrikan citizens was made — and the importance of the distinction was emphasized — in the first Article of the CODE OF UMOJA, our nation's Constitution:

Article I
New Afrikan Citizenship

Section 1 —
Citizenship By Birth
Each Afrikan person born in America is a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika.

Section 2 —
Citizenship By Parentage
Any child born to a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika is a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika.

Section 3 —
Citizenship By Naturalization
Any person not otherwise a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika may become a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika by completing the procedures for naturalization as provided by the People's Center Council.

Section 4 —
Pre-Ratification Citizenship Retained
Each person who is a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika at the time of the passage of this **CODE OF UMOJA** is hereafter a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika.

Section 5 —
Right To Choice Of Citizenship

Notwithstanding Sections 1, 2, 3, and 4 of Article 1, the right of any person to expressly deny or renounce his/her citizenship shall not be denied.

Section 6 —
Citizenship Of Other Afrikans
Persons of Afrikan descent, wherever their original place of birth or domicile in the world, have a right to New Afrikan citizenship, as provided by the People's Center Council.

Section 7 —
Conscious Citizenship
All citizens of the Republic of New Afrika who are aware of their citizenship are conscious New Afrikan citizens. As a result of an over 300 year old policy of force and fraud used by the United States government and the governments of various American states against the New Afrikan nation, many citizens of the Republic of New Afrika are not aware of their human right to New Afrikan Citizenship and indeed are not aware of the existence of the New Afrikan nation in North America. The growth of a conscious New Afrikan citizenship is related to the success of the liberation struggle. The objective measurement of that growth shall be a consideration in the development and implementation of Provisional Government policy, programs and structure as determined by the People's Center Council. (Emphasis added — A.S.) (2)

One cannot fight for national self-determination if one is unaware of the very existence of the nation. Unconscious citizens owe no permanent allegiance to the defined objectives of New Afrikan people, and they owe no permanent allegiance to any organ representing the people, e.g., the Provisional Government. Acts performed by unconscious citizens can rarely, if ever, be accorded the status of acts performed by New Afrikan political

prisoners and prisoners of war:

> What We got to see more clearly is that while all colonial subjects are "the same" vis-a-vis the oppressor, one of the requirements for genuine and successful national liberation revolution is the making of an analysis of the colony's social structure [i.e., class analysis].
>
> The conditions that all Afrikans in the U.S. experience are essentially and objectively colonial. But this doesn't mean that all Afrikan people have the same revolutionary capacity or inclination.
>
> When We define all Afrikan prisoners as political prisoners and/or as prisoners of war, We aren't defining "political prisoners" — We're simply defining Afrikan prisoners as colonial subjects -- captured colonial subjects. (3)

Captured (unconscious) citizens "are the mass, general prison populations which Afrikans comprise. The simple statue of a 20th century slave gives political character and significance to us all— but doesn't determine whether that political character and significance will be good or bad for the nation and the struggle.

Sundiata Acoli
New Afrikan Prisoner of War

"The New Afrikan nation...was formed because of and during the battles with Europeans in which We lost our independence. During our enslavement the many nations...from the continent [of Afrika] shared one history, developed essentially one consciousness, acquired objectively one destiny — all as a result of the suffering We all experienced as a dominated people.

"'But so far as the struggle is concerned it must be realized that it is not the degree of suffering and hardship involved as such that matters: even extreme suffering in itself does not necessarily produce the prise de conscience required for the national liberation struggle.' (Amilcar Cabral, Revolution In Guinea, p. 63.)

"While the 'criminal' acts of all Afrikans are the results of our general economic, political and social relationships to the oppressive, imperialist state, there is no automatic, unquestionable revolutionary nationalist capacity and consciousness."

"If We say that 'crime' is a 'reflection of the present state of property relations,' then We must also say that for us these relations are those between a dominated nation and its oppressor and exploiter. The method of economic organization which governs our lives is an imperialist, a colonialist method. Altho this colonial system is structured so as to force many of us to take what We need [from the oppressor] in order to survive, and altho there are conscious political decisions made by the oppressor once We find ourselves in the grips of his 'criminal justice system,' it must also be seen that a conscious political decision must also be made on the part of the colonial subject before his [or her] acts can have a subjective, functional political meaning within the context of the national liberation struggle.

"Put another way: If the 'criminal' acts of Afrikans are the results of a 'grossly disproportionate distribution of wealth and privilege,' which stems from our status as a dominated, colonized nation, then the only way to prevent crime among us is to make a conscious decision to liberate the nation and establish among ourselves a more equitable distribution of wealth and privilege." (4)

The movement's major responsibility toward imprisoned unconscious citizens is at this time, to promote New Afrikan consciousness, and to involve them in structured activity which will promote the further development of the movement, and of the national liberation struggle.

New Afrikans held by the U.S. as political

prisoners, and those held as prisoners of war, are conscious citizens of the nation. What distinguishes political prisoners from prisoners of war is that the latter (POW's) are classified as armed forces of the nation. However, political prisoners and prisoners of war owe a permanent allegiance to the defined objectives of the New Afrikan Independence Movement, and an allegiance to an organized formation which represents New Afrikan people and fights in their interests. The Provisional Government of the nation is one such organ.

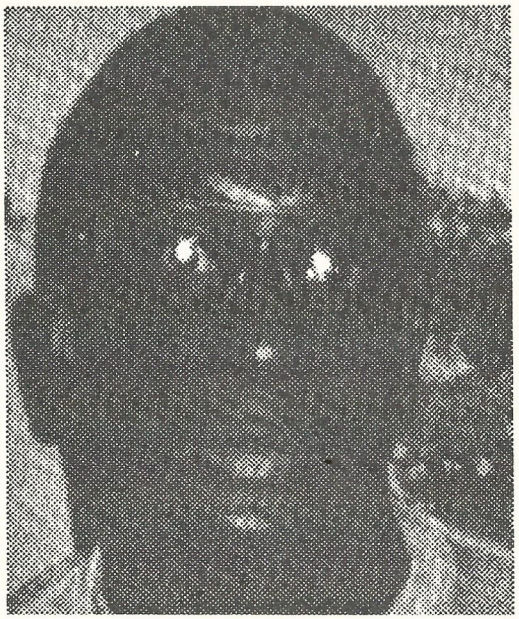
In the Preamble to the CODE OF UMOJA, the Provisional Government specifically recognized "the importance and necessity of the campaigns of all the nation's armed freedom fighting forces fighting in accordance with international law, including the Geneva Convention...."

As We pursue our campaign for international recognition of the legitimacy of our struggle for national self-determination, and thus for the recognition of POW status for our captured nationals, We, too, must abide by international humanitarian law. (5) Of primary concern to us is the law as codified in the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War of 12 August 1949, (known as the Third Convention), (6) and the Protocol Additional to the Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 (known as Protocol I). (7)

The Third Convention, written shortly after what's commonly referred to as "World War II," was not originally designed or intended to apply to wars of national liberation and against colonialism, and in which guerrilla or irregular units operated or were the primary form of the liberation movement's armed forces:

> Article 2. In addition to the provisions which shall be implemented in peace time, the present Convention shall apply to all cases of declared war or of any other armed conflict which may arise between two or more of the High Contracting Parties, even if the state of war is not recognized by one of them.
>
> The Convention shall also apply to all cases of partial or total occupation of the territory of a High Contracting Party, even if the said occupation meets with no armed resistance.
>
> Although one of the Powers in conflict may not be a party to the present Convention, the Powers who are parties thereto shall remain bound by it in their mutual relations. They shall furthermore be bound by the Convention in relation to the said Power, if the latter

accepts and supplies the provisions thereof. (8)



Kojo Bomani Sababu
New Afrikan Prisoner of War

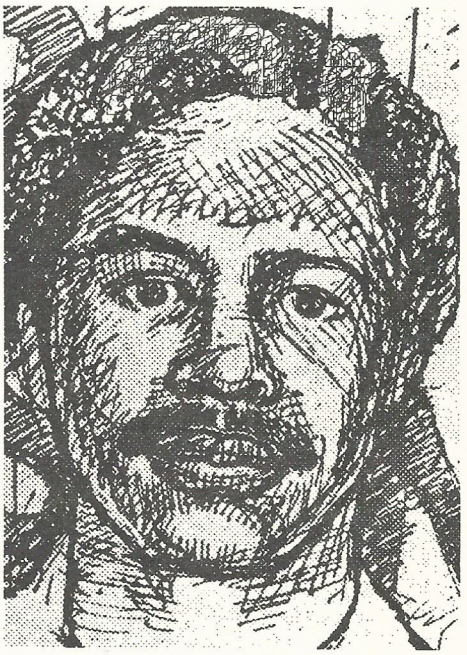
Article 2 is significant not only for its reference to the applicability of the Convention "even if the state of war is not recognized by one of them." In fact, Article 2 makes it clear that the Convention can be applied by a "party" that was not one of the original "High Contracting Parties."

To begin with, in our situation, it is New Afrikan **people** that is the "party" in our conflict with the U.S., and bodies, such as the Provisional Government, constitute an organ representing the people. It remains, therefore, for the Provisional Government to issue our "declaration of acceptance," as required by Article 2 of the Third Convention, and by Article 96 of Protocol I:

> 2. When one of the parties to the conflict is not bound by this Protocol, the parties to the Protocol shall remain bound by it in their mutual relations. They shall furthermore be bound by this Protocol in relation to each of the Parties which are not bound by it, if the latter accepts and applies the provisions thereof.
>
> 3. The authority representing a people engaged against a High Contracting Party in an armed conflict of the type referred to in Article l, paragraph 4, may undertake to apply the Conventions and this Protocol in relation to that conflict by means of a unilateral declaration addressed to the depositary. Such declaration shall, upon receipt by the depositary, have in relation to that conflict the following effects:
>
> (a) the Conventions and this Protocol are brought into force for the said authority of a Party to the conflict with immediate effect;
>
> (b) the said authority assumes the same right and obligations as those which have been assumed by a High Contracting Party to the Conventions and this Protocol; and
>
> (c) the Conventions and this Protocol are equally binding upon all Parties to the conflict. (9)

Although the definition of prisoner of war in the Third Convention were rather restrictive, relative to guerrilla warfare and national liberation struggles, it would be in our interests to study it:

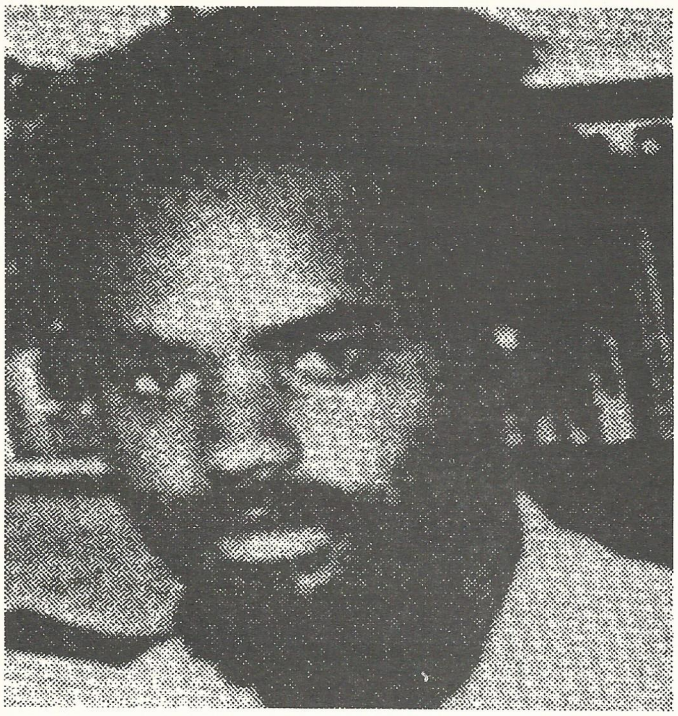
Article 4. A. Prisoners of war, in the sense of the present Convention, are persons belonging to one of the following categories, who have fallen into the power of the enemy:



Herman Bell
Political Prisoner

(1) Members of the armed forces of a Party to the conflict, as well as members of militias or volunteer corps forming part of such armed forces.

(2) Members of other militias and members of other volunteer corps, including those of organized resistance movements, belonging to a Party to the conflict and operating in or outside their own territory, even if this territory is



Mumia Abu-Jamal
Political Prisoner

occupied, provided that such militias or volunteer corps, including such organized resistance movement, fulfill the following conditions:

(a) that of being commanded by a person responsible for his subordinates;

(b) that of having a fixed distinctive sign recognizable at a distance;

(c) that of carrying arms openly;

(d) that of conducting their operation in accordance with the laws and customs of war.

(3) Members of regular armed forces who profess allegiance to a government or authority not recognize by the Detaining Power.

(4) Persons who accompany the armed forces without actually being members thereof, such as civilian members of military aircraft crews, war correspondent, supply contractors, members of labor forces or of services responsible for the welfare of the armed forces, provided that they have received authorization from the armed forces which they accompany, who shall provide them for that purpose wit an identity card similar to the annexed model.

(5) Members of crews, including masters, pilots and apprentices, of the merchant marine and the crews of civil aircraft of the Parties to the conflict, who do not benefit by more favorable treatment under any other provision of international law.

(6) Inhabitants of a non-occupied territory, who on the approach of the enemy spontaneously take up arms to resist the invading forces, without having had time to form themselves into regular armed units, provided they carry arm openly and respect the laws and customs of war.

B. The following shall likewise be treated as prisoner of war under the present Convention:

(2) The persons belonging to one of the categories enumerated in the present Article, who have been received by neutral or nonbelligerent Powers on their territory and when these Powers are required to intern under international law, without prejudice to any more favorable treatment which these Powers may choose to give and with the exceptions of Articles 8, 10, 15, 30, fifth paragraph, 58-67, 92, 126 and, where diplomatic relations exist between the Parties to the conflict and the neutral or nonbelligerent Power concerned, those Articles concerning the Protecting Power. Where such diplomat relations exist, the Parties to a conflict on whom these persons depend shall be allowed to perform towards them the functions of a Protecting Power as provided in the present Convention, without prejudice to the functions which these Parties normally exercise in conformity with diplomatic and conformity usage and treaties. (10)

The Third Convention continues to apply—in a less restrictive manner — to national liberation

struggles, because it has been supplemented with Protocol I.

Protocol I extends and broadens the rules regulating the conduct of international armed conflicts to cover changes which have taken place in the relations between nations and in the conduct of warfare. The imperialist powers are on the defensive; new nations have emerged, and others are struggling to liberate themselves.

In view of such changes, Protocol I defines a new category of war — war for national liberation:

> Article 1...
>
> 3. This Protocol, which supplements the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 for the protection of war victims, shall apply in the situations referred to in Article 2 common to those Conventions.
>
> 4. The situations referred to in the preceding paragraph include armed conflicts in which peoples are fighting against colonial domination and alien occupation and against racist regimes in the exercise of their right of self-determination, as inherent in the Charter of the United Nations and the Deckaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. (11)

Whereas the Third Convention made the status of guerilla combatants largely dependent upon criteria difficult for liberation movements to meet, Protocol I defines combatants and POW's in a more realistic manner:

> Article 43 — Armed forces
>
> 1. The armed forces of a Party to a conflict consist of all organized armed forces, groups and units which are under a command responsible to that Party for the conduct of its subordinates, even if that Party is represented by a government or an authority not recognized by an adverse Party. Such armed forces shall be subject to an internal disciplinary system which, *inter alia*, shall enforce compliance with the rules of international law applicable in armed conflict.

■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■

> Article 44 — Combatants and prisoners of war
>
> 1. Any combatant, as define in Article 43, who falls into the power of an adverse Party shall be a prisoner of war. (12)

The major task now before us is not that of haggling over the definition of a prisoner of war. At bottom, our words about POW's weigh far less than our practice on their behalf.

Seeking recognition of the legitimacy of our claims regarding the nation's right to national self-determination, and/or regarding the status of our captured nationals as political prisoners and prisoners of war, is done in two ways.

We must continue to pursue and exhaust all "legal" avenues (i.e., in U.S. courts, through international bodies, etc...). However, these approaches will mean little or nothing unless there is further development of the New Afrikan Independence Movement and our national liberation struggle, so that the objective existence of a people's war will allow our practice to be the ultimate criterion of the truth of our claims.

AFTERWORD

The present article is an updated version of "Toward Clarity on Captured Citizen's, Political Prisoner's, and POW's," written in 1978, and published in Notes From a New Afrikan POW Journal, Book Two, in that same year, by Spear & Shield Publications.

The definitions were slightly updated in 1980, in "On Transforming The Colonial and 'Criminal' Mentality," published in Notes From a New Afrikan POW Journal, Book Seven.

ENDNOTES

1. The term "national" is used throughout this article to distinguish uncouncious citizens from conscious ones, i.e., those who owe allegiance to the defined objectives of New Afrikan people, and to the organs representing us in our struggle for national self-determination.

2. Code of Umoja (Code of Unity) of the Republic of New Afrika. Published by the Justice Ministry of the Provisional Government, R.N.A., July 1984.

3. Notes From a New Afrikan POW Journal, Book Two, p. 25.

4. Ibid., p.26

5. A distinction is usually made between "international law," which applies to the relations between nations, and "international humanitarian law," which regulates the conduct of warfare.

6. Geneva Conventions Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War of August 12, 1949, 6 U.S.T. 3316, 75 U.N.T.S. 135.

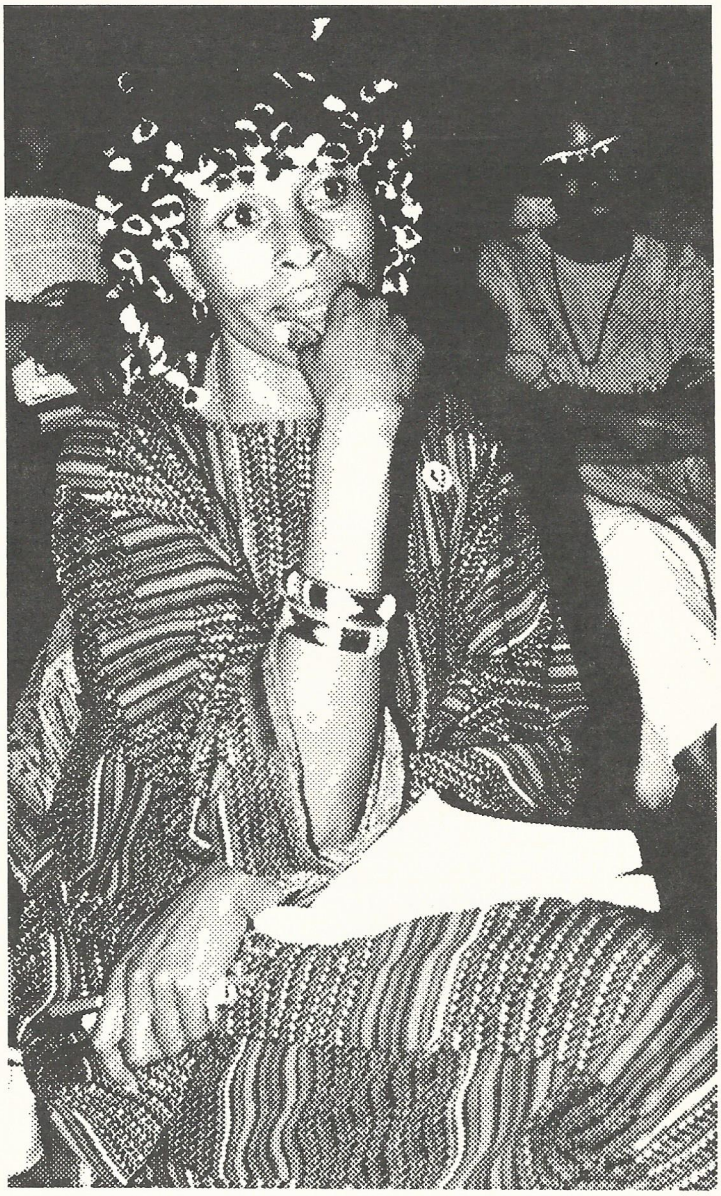
7. Protocol I Additional to the Geneva Conventions of August 12, 1949, and relating to the Protections of Victims of International Armed Conflicts, opened for signature Dec. 12, 1977, entered into force Dec. 7, 1978, U.N. Doc. No. A/32/144 (1977), 72 American Journal of International Law 457 (1978), 16 International Legal Materials 1391 (1977).

8. Third Convention, Article 2.

9. Protocol I, Article 96.

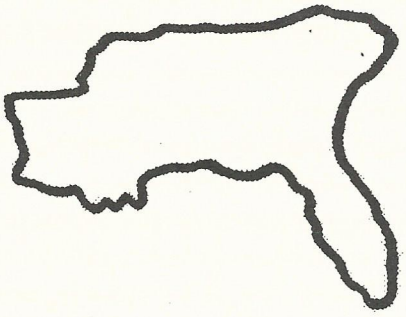
10. Third Convention, Article 4 (A).

11. Ibid., Article 4 (B) (2).



Assata Shakur in Cuba

Re-Build
Free The Land!



We must defend ourselves and let no one disrepect us. We must gain our liberation by any means necessary. It is our duty to fight for our freedom. It is our duty to win. We must love each other and support each other. We have nothing to lose but our chains!

~Assata

Notes On: The Promotion of Knowledge And Respect For the Laws of War Or Meeting the Obligations Of International Humanitarian Law

Atiba Shanna

I

The New Afrikan Independence Movement (NAIM) struggles against the U.S. to realize national self-determination for New Afrikan people. One aspect of our struggle is the campaign which seeks POW status and treatment for New Afrikan captured combatants, in accord with the 1949 Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (known as the Third Convention) (1), and its 1977 Additional Protocol. (2) (3)

Most of the NAIM's efforts in this campaign have been directed toward securing U.S. adherence to these instruments of international humanitarian law, as well as our attempt to obtain recognition by the international community of the separate existence of New Afrikan people inside U.S. borders, and of our legitimate struggle to realize our right to self-determination as a sovereign state. (4)

The NAIM tends, however, to overlook the obligations which these same instruments place upon us. We fail to take advantage of the opportunities the instruments provide for the further structural and political development of our movement.

II

Not surprisingly, the U.S. disputes our claim that is should accord POW status and treatment to New Afrikan captured combatants. (5) It does this primarily by claiming that New Afrikan combatants don't meet the criteria of the Third Convention and Protocol I, but also by deliberate distortion and omission of relevant provisions of these instruments in the arguments of U.S. judicial and executive officials.

The NAIM's claim that the U.S. must provide POW status and treatment for our captured fighters is based, in part, on the U.S. government being one of the signatories ("High Contracting Parties") to the Third Convention, which binds it to apply the Convention's provisions even to those forces that oppose it in conflict who happen not to be "High Contracting Parties."

Further, the Third Convention (and most other human rights instruments, e.g., Protocol I), has evolved into customary international law, and as such it imposes unilateral obligations upon all nations — obligations which are not dependent upon their observation by parties opposing them in conflict.

However, when the NAIM itself meets certain obligations imposed by the Third Convention and by Protocol I, the U.S. will have less room within which to maneuver in its attempt to avoid according bellig-

erent status to New Afrikan people and the New Afrikan Independence Movement, and thus its attempt to avoid providing POW status and treatment to New Afrikan captured combatants.

The first of these obligations is the declaration of acceptance of the Geneva Conventions and Protocol I, which bring these instruments into force for the NAIM, and make them "equally binding upon all parties to the conflict." The Third Convention's criteria are:

> Article 2 (3). Although one of the Powers in conflict may not be a party to the present Convention, the Powers who are parties thereto shall remain bound by it in their mutual relations. They shall furthermore be bound by the Convention in relation to the said Power, *if the latter accepts and applies the provisions thereof.* (Emphasis added.)

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> Article 139. From the date of its coming into force, it shall be open to any Power in whose name the present Convention has not been signed, to accede to this Convention.
>
> Article 140. Accessions shall be notified in writing to the Swiss Federal Council, and shall take effect six months after the date on which they are received.

The Swiss Federal Council shall communicate the accessions to all the Powers in whose name the Convention has been signed, or whose accession has been notified.

> Article 141. The situations provided for in Articles 2 and 3 shall give immediate effect to ratifications deposited and accessions notified by the Parties to the conflict before or after the beginning of hostilities or occupation. The Swiss Federal Council shall communicate by the quickest method any ratifications or accessions received from Parties to the conflict.

The language of Protocol I is more precise, and its criteria particularly relevant to the character of the NAIM and other national liberation movements:

> Article 96 — Treaty relations upon entry into force of this Protocol
> 1. When the Parties to the Convention are also Parties to this Protocol, the Conventions shall apply as supplemented by this Protocol.
>
> 2. When one of the Parties to the conflict is not bound by this Protocol, the parties to the Protocol shall remain bound by it in their mutual relations. They shall furthermore be bound by this Protocol in relation to each of the Parties which are not bound by it, if the latter accepts and applies the provisions thereof.
>
> 3. The authority representing a people engaged against a High Contracting Party in an armed conflict of the type referred to in Article 1, paragraph 4, may undertake to apply the Conventions and this Protocol in relation to that conflict by means of a unilateral declaration addressed to the depositary. Such declaration shall, upon receipt by the depositary, have in relation to that conflict the following effects:
>
> (a) the Conventions and this Protocol are brought into force for the said authority of a Party to the conflict with immediate effect;
>
> (b) the said authority assumes the same rights and obligations as those which have been assumed by a High Contracting Party to the Conventions and this Protocol; and

(c) the Conventions and this Protocol are equally binding upon all Parties to the conflict.

III

Next in order of importance are the obligations with regard to "Protecting Powers" and "rules of application," which We refer to while implying the NAIM's needs in these areas. With respect to "Protecting Powers," We look first at the Third Convention, and then at Protocol I:

Article 8. The present Convention shall be applied with the cooperation and under the scrutiny of the Protecting Powers whose duty it is to safeguard the interests of the Parties to the conflict. For this purpose, the Protecting Powers may appoint, apart from their diplomatic or consular staff, delegates from amongst their own nationals or the nationals of other neutral Powers. The said delegates shall be subject to the approval of the Power with which they are to carry out their duties.

The Parties to the conflict shall facilitate to the greatest extent possible the task of the representatives or delegates of the Protecting Powers.

The representatives or delegates of the Protecting Powers shall not in any case exceed their mission under the present Convention. They shall, in particular, take account of the imperative necessities of security of the State wherein they carry out their duties.

Article 10. The High Contracting Parties may at any time agree to entrust to an organization which offers all guarantees of impartiality and efficacy the duties incumbent on the Protecting Powers by virtue of the present convention.

When prisoners of war do not benefit or cease to benefit, no matter for what reason, by the activities of a Protecting Power or of an organization provided for in the first paragraph above, the Detaining Power shall request a neutral State, or such an organization, to undertake the functions performed under the present convention by a Protecting Power designated by the Parties to a conflict.

If protection cannot be arranged accordingly, the Detaining Power shall request or shall accept, subject to the pro- visions of this Article, the offer of the services of a humanitarian organization, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross, to assume the humanitar- ian functions performed by Protecting Powers under the present Convention.

Any neutral Power or any organization invited by the Power concerned or offering itself for these pur- poses, shall be required to act with a sense of responsi- bility towards the Party to the conflict on which per- sons protected by the present Convention depend, and shall be required to furnish sufficient assurances that it is in a position to undertake the appropriate functions and to discharge them impartially.

No derogation from the preceding provisions shall be made by special agreements between Powers one of which is restricted, even temporarily, in its freedom to negotiate with the other Power or its allies by reason of military events, more particularly where the whole, or a sub- stantial part, of the territory of the said Power is occu- pied.

Whenever in the present Convention mention

Laura Whitehorn
North American Political Prisoner

is made of a Protecting Power, such mention applies to substitute organizations in the sense of the present Article.

Article 11. In cases where they deem it advisable in the interest of protected persons particularly in cases of disagreement between the Parties to the conflict as to the application or interpretation of the provisions of the present Convention, the Protecting Powers shall lend their good offices with a view to settling the disagreement.

For this purpose, each of the Protecting Powers may, either at the invitation of one Party or on its own initiative, propose to the Parties to the conflict a meeting of their representatives, and in particular of the authorities responsible for prisoners of war, possibly on neutral territory suitably chosen. The Parties to the conflict shall be bound to give effect to the proposals made to them for this purpose. The Protecting Powers may, if necessary, propose for approval by the Parties to the conflict a person belonging to a neutral Power, or delegated by the International Committee of the Red Cross, who shall be invited to take part in such a meeting.

Article 78. Prisoners of war shall have the right to make known to the military authorities in whose power they are, their requests regarding the conditions of captivity to which they are subjected.

They shall also have the unrestricted right to apply to the representatives of the Protecting Powers either through their prisoners' representatives or, if they consider it necessary, direct, in order to draw their attention to any points on which they may have complaints to make regarding their conditions of captivity.

These requests and complaints shall not be limited nor considered to be a part of the correspondence quota referred to in Article 71. They must be transmitted immediately. Even if they are recognized to be unfounded, they may not give rise to any punishment.

Prisoners' representatives may send periodic reports on the situation in the camps and the needs of the prisoners of war to the representatives of the Protecting Powers.

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Protocol I

Article 2 — Definitions

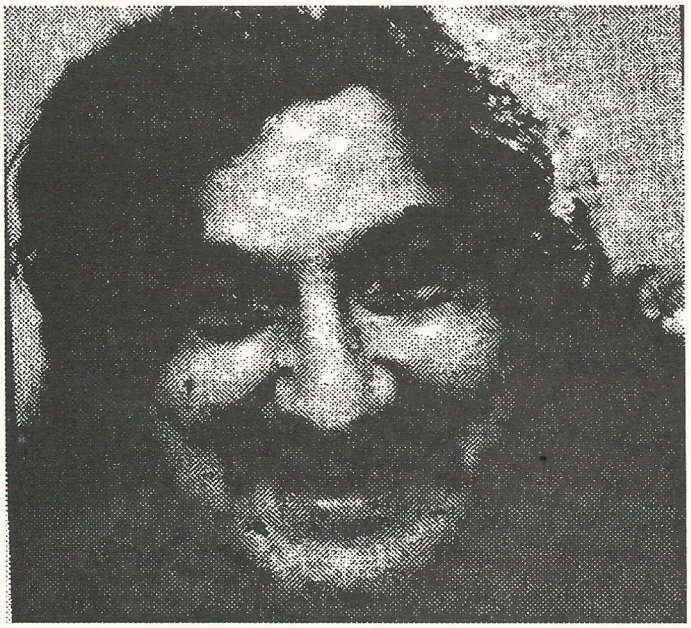
(c) "Protecting Power" means a neutral or other State not a Party to the conflict which has been designated by a Party to the conflict and accepted by the adverse Party and has agreed to carry out the functions assigned to a Protecting Power under the Conventions and this Protocol;

(d) "Substitute" means an organization acting in place of a Protecting Power in accordance with Article 5.

Article 5 — Appointment of Protecting Powers and of their substitute

1. It is the duty of the Parties to a conflict from the beginning of that conflict to secure the supervision and implementation of the Conventions and of this Protocol by the application of the system of Protecting Powers, including *inter alia* the designation and acceptance of those Powers, in accordance with the following paragraphs. Protecting Powers shall have the duty of safeguarding the interests of the Parties to the conflict.

2. From the beginning of a situation referred to in Article 1, each Party to the conflict shall



Leonard Peltier
Native American Political Prisoner

without delay designate a Protecting Power for the purpose of applying the Conventions and this Protocol and shall, likewise without delay and for the same purpose, permit the activities of a Protecting Power which has been accepted by it as such after designation by the adverse Party.

3. If a Protecting Power has not been designated or accepted from the beginning of a situation referred to in Article 1, the International Committee of the Red Cross, without prejudice to the right of any other impartial humanitarian organization to do likewise, shall offer its good offices to the Parties to the conflict with a view to the designation without delay of a Protecting Power to which the Parties to the conflict consent. For that purpose it may *inter alia* ask each Party to provide it with a list of at least five States which that Party considers acceptable to act as Protecting Power on its behalf in relation to an adverse Party and ask each adverse Party to provide a list of at least five States which it would accept as the Protecting Power of the first Party; these lists shall be communicated to the Committee within two weeks after the receipt of the request; it shall compare them and seek the agreement of any proposed State named on both lists.

4. If, despite the foregoing, there is no Protecting Power, the Parties to the conflict shall accept without delay an offer which may be made by the International Committee of the Red Cross or by any other organization which offers all guarantees of impartiality and efficacy, after due consultations with the said Parties and taking into account the result of these consultations, to act as a substitute. The functioning of such a substitute is subject to the consent of the Parties to the conflict; every effort shall be made by the Parties to the conflict to facilitate the operations of the substitute in the performance of its tasks under the Conventions and this Protocol.

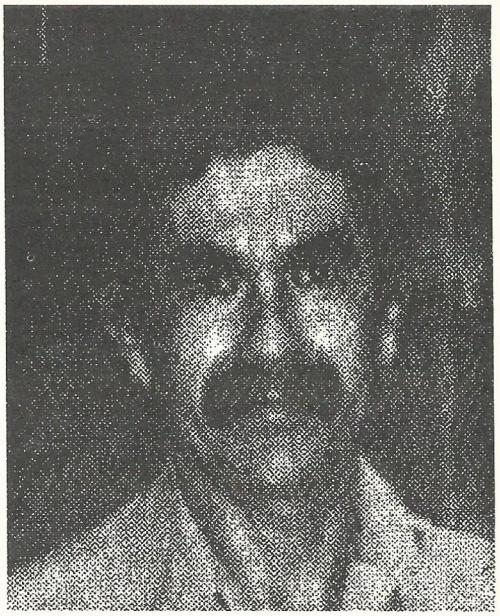
5. In accordance with Article 4, the designation and acceptance of Protecting Powers for the purpose of applying the Conventions and this Protocol shall not affect the legal status of the Parties to the conflict or of any territory, including occupied territory.

6. The maintenance of diplomatic relations between Parties to the conflict or the entrusting of the protection of a Party's interests and those of its nationals to a third State in accordance with the rules of international law relating to diplomatic relations is no obstacle to the designation of Protecting Powers for the purpose of applying the Conventions and this Protocol.

7. Any subsequent mention in this Protocol of a Protecting Power includes also a substitute.

With respect to the "rules of application," We again look first at the Third Convention, and then to Protocol I:

Article 128. The High Contracting Parties shall communicate to one another through the Swiss Federal Council and, during hostilities, through the Protecting Powers, the official translations of the present Convention, as well as the laws and regulations which they may adopt to ensure the application thereof.



Oscar Lopez Rivera
Puerto Rican Prison of War

Article 84 — Rules of application

The High Contracting Parties shall communicate to one another as soon as possible, through the depositary and, as appropriate, through the Protecting Powers, their official translations of this Protocol, as well as the laws and regulations which they may adopt to ensure its application.

IV

We cannot respect the laws of war, nor can We fulfill our obligations under these laws, if We don't know the content of instruments such as the Third Convention and Additional Protocol I. Each of these instruments, as well as the other three Geneva Conventions of 1949, contain provisions which "expressly impose a legal obligation [on parties] to take all necessary measures to make the treaty provisions adequately known to the categories of people likely to be in situations in which they must be applied." (6)

Jean-Jacques Surbeck, head of the Dissemination Service of the International Committee of the Red Cross, has written on the need for a coherent approach to tackling the problem of dissemination. He has developed a list of audience categories, because the people included would be in positions to apply some provisions of the Third Convention and Protocol I during armed conflicts, and thus they should receive some instruction in the content of the documents. We, however, would probably increase the number of categories, and broaden the instruction to include other subjects vital to the interests of the New Afrikan national liberation revolution. Below, We follow the outline of Surbeck's article, with our focus being its adaptation to the needs and interests of the New Afrikan Independence Movement. (7)

Beginning again with the Third Convention, its dissemination provision reads:

Article 127. The High Contracting Parties undertake, in time of peace as in time of war, to disseminate the text of the present Convention as widely as possible in their respective countries, and, in particular, to include the study thereof in their programs of military and, if possible, civil instruction, so that the principles thereof may become known to all their armed forces and to the entire population.

Any military or other authorities, who in time of war assume responsibilities in respect of prisoners of war, must possess the text of the Convention and be specially instructed as to its provisions.

The dissemination provision of Protocol I is Article 83:

1. The High Contracting Parties undertake, in time of peace as in time of armed conflict, to disseminate the Conventions and this Protocol as widely as possible in their respective countries and, in particular, to include the study thereof in their programmer of military instruction and to encourage the study thereof by the civilian population, so that those instruments may become known to the armed forces and to the civilian population.

2. Any military or civilian authorities who in time of armed conflict, assume responsibilities in respect of the application of the Conventions and this Protocol shall be fully acquainted with the text thereof.

The International Committee of the Red Cross has assumed responsibility for dissemination among the nations of the world. We (the New Afrikan Independence Movement) must assume the responsibility for dissemination within our own nation, and for conducting related activities among the nations of the world on our own behalf.

The NAIM needs its own organization, or Joint Committee, to handle the activities around all New Afrikan captured combatants. Such a Joint Committee would also initiate, develop, encourage and oversee the dissemination of international humanitarian law (and general information/P.E. about the NAIM) to specified audiences which would include, but not be limited to:

a) New Afrikan armed forces and combatants (i.e., any individual involved in the fighting);

b) Red Cross, Red Crescent (needed "Black Crescent" and/or "Black Star") societies;

c) civil servants in (New Afrikan) government ministries (i.e., defense, foreign affairs, justice, health, information and education, social services);

d) the academic community (educators on all levels, especially specialists in international (humanitarian) law, who can disseminate through curricula, and can assist in the dissemination efforts in various ways;

e) primary and secondary school systems, and college students with majors in relevant fields (i.e., law, medicine, journalism). In many contemporary conflicts children are involved, either in logistics or directly in the fighting (of People's Wars); today's children will be tomorrow's combatants. A larger percentage of the population can be reached by dissemination among children;

f) medical professionals (re: their immunities, rights and duties in armed conflicts, esp.. in People's War;

g) journalists and the media (their role in making large segments of the population aware of the laws of war; their role in shaping public opinion, and in reporting on violations of the laws of war re: POW;

h) trade unions and professional associations;

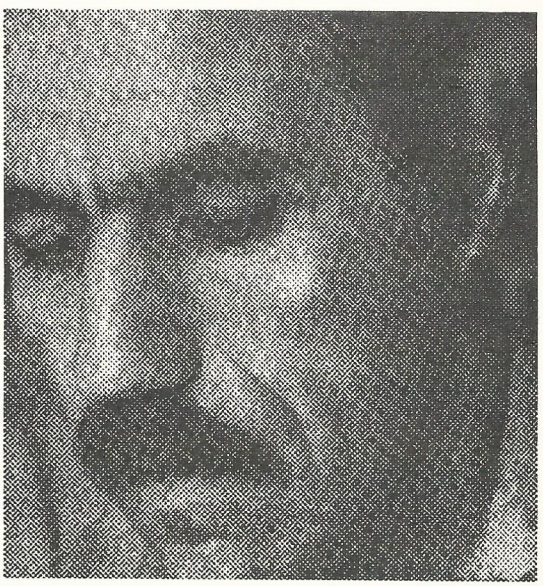
i) churches;

j) the public at large.

The NAIM's "dissemination project" should be conducted through the writtenword, the spoken word (seminars, etc..), and through audio-visual techniques.

The project should be conducted throughout the New Afrikan National Territory and the U.S. geopolitical area. We should direct relevant materials to the international community outside U.S. borders and to their offices inside the U.S.

The "Joint Committee" must also advise, inspire, and educate the educators; create materials and in some cases review the materials of others; exchange information with other liberation movements and solidarity groups and, to the greatest extent possible, coordinate the whole of related activities for the New Afrikan Independence Movement. The Committee should thus be responsible for all work with and on behalf of New Afrikan captured combatants, e.g., legal activities, regular visits, funds, literature, medical support, and particular attention to the welfare of their families.



Ray Luc Levasseur
Ohio 7 Political Prisoner

AFTERWORD

We aren't implying that "legal" avenues (e.g., appeals to the U.N.) will secure national self-determination for New Afrikan people. Nor do We want to suggest that any work with or on behalf of captured combatants should be the primary focus of NAIM resources and activity.

The New Afrikan Independence Movement must begin to systematically generate the support and activity of the mass of New Afrikan people. Only such a movement will ultimately determine the fate of our captured combatants, and secure national independence and socialist development for New Afrikan people.

Atiba Shanna

FOOTNOTES

1. Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War of August 12, 1949; 6 U.S.T. 3316, 75 U.N.T.S. 135.

2. Protocol I Additional to the Geneva Conventions of August 12, 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts, U.N. Doc. No. A/32/144 (1977), 16 International Legal Materials 1391 (1977), 72 American Journal of International Law 457 (1978).

3. A fundamental distinction exists between Protocol I and Protocol II: the former applies to **international** conflicts and **wars for national liberation** such as the New Afrikan struggle for national self-determination. Protocol II **excludes** such struggles, and applies only to **non-international, internal** conflicts. It doesn't confer or afford POW status and treatment upon (New Afrikan) captured combatants. See: Protocol II Additional to the Geneva Conventions of August 12, 1949, U.N. Doc. No. A/32/144 (1977), 16 International Legal Materials 1442 (1977), 72 American Journal of International Law 502 (1978).

4. At the conclusion of the Special International Tribunal on the Violation of Human Rights of Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War in United States Prisons and Jails, held at Hunter College, New York, USA, December 7-10, 1990, a panel of international jurists found that "the Black [New Afrikan] and Mexican people living within the borders of the United States, and Native American and Puerto Rican people have the fundamental right to exercise self-determination and to seek and receive support from other opponents of repression," and that "the evidence presented before us strongly supports the claim that Black [New Afrikan] people living within the borders of the United States are a distinct people entitled to self-determination."

5. All established governments, but particularly the government of the United States and other imperialist powers, will not freely acknowledge the legitimacy of people's struggles against their oppressive regimes. They will, for example, only agree to treat captured combatants as POWs when it is expedient in order to secure similar treatment for their own troops.

6. "Dissemination of International Humanitarian Law," Jean-Jacques Surbeck, 32 American University Law Review, 125-143.

7. Ibid.

THE LEGACY OF MALCOLM X: CARRY IT FORWARD BY TAKING UP HIS POLITICAL STAND

Owusu Yaki Yakubu **8-23-90**

Picking up where Malcolm left off is something that We can't do: Malcolm was assassinated over twenty-five years ago, and the conditions then existing inside the U.S. and throughout the world differed from those We face today.

Moreover, trying to pick up where Malcolm left off is something that We don't want to do: The ideas and programs espoused by Malcolm in the 1960's cannot be taken up without being subjected to analyses, "sorting out" and "updating," so that We can adapt what is useful among them to contemporary conditions and objectives.

Malcolm's thought and action were not based upon unalterable concepts and formulas, but rather upon the data provided by his study of actual conditions and the creative development of new situations. Malcolm would not continue to hold onto old concepts and formulas devised on the basis of conditions that no longer exist.

We can form hypotheses regarding the probable content and character of Malcolm's ideological and programmatic development had he lived and continued to pursue the course indicated by the words and deeds of his last days. However, no matter what meaning We give to the things Malcolm said and did, and no matter what We think that Malcolm would be saying and doing were he alive today, *We* must decide upon the legacy that *We* want to leave for future generations.

We know with certainty that Malcolm left a legacy of unselfish commitment to the struggle of Afrikans in the U.S. for the realization of our national and revolutionary interests. In the last months of his life, Malcolm was developing positions which were more genuinely and consistently revolutionary and scientific.

We can begin to carry this legacy forward, with respect for Malcolm, by taking up his political stand and by making our contributions to its development.

The essence of that stand is a concern to master nature, society, and one's self; to strive to understand the world, and to use one's understanding in order to help change the world; to engage in an on-going process of formulating and testing ideas through revolutionary practice in the struggle to end the domination of U.S. and world capitalist-imperialism, and to place political/state power in the hands of the people.

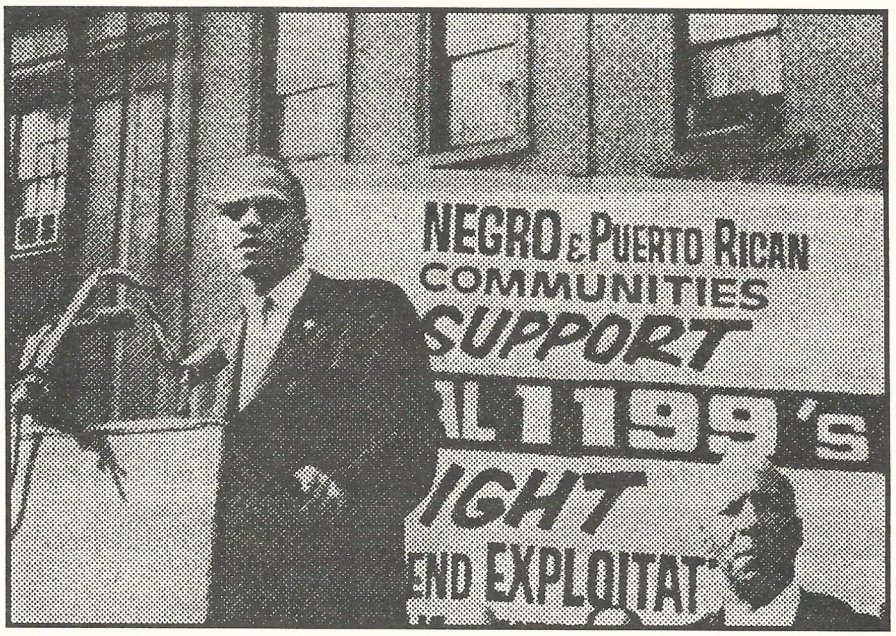
The stand that We take up should be one resting on a perception of the natural and social orders as being subject to objective laws of development that can (and must) be utilized to help us make better lives for ourselves through struggles for national independence and social revolution.

Like Malcolm, We should understand that We exist in the world as social beings, as integral parts of a whole. Our stand is the stand of a people, of an oppressed nation vis-a-vis the forces of capitalist oppression. More particularly, our stand is the stand of the most revolutionary class of the nation, the working class. The stand of Malcolm, the stand that We must take up and creatively develop, is the stand of the nation for its independence, and of the working class for social revolution; it is representative of the consciousness of the nation and the revolutionary class, an awareness of our historic position and mission in the system of the world order, and of our fundamental, long-term interests.

Africans in the U.S. join other oppressed peoples as gravediggers of capitalism and imperialism. Our interests are fundamentally opposed to the continued ideological, political, and economic

hegemony of the U.S. and its allies and puppets. Our mission is to regain absolute control of our natural and human resources, and to direct their use toward the all-round development of each person, according to the principles of collective mastery.

Also characteristic of Malcolm's stand is the search for a scientific revolutionary theory, and a corresponding attempt to build an organized structure that would test the theory in the course of practical revolutionary activities with the masses of our people and with our allies, under the leadership of the working class.



Central to the stand that We must take up is a focus on the acquisition, use, and retention of state power — our only guarantee for an ultimate solution to our problems in all spheres of socioeconomic life. Only state power, exercised according to our development of scientific socialist principles, can secure our long-sought "freedom, justice, and equality."

Malcolm based his ideas and actions upon what he called a "proper analysis" of conditions and of interests, so that We can know what the "stakes" in the struggle really are. For Malcolm, the "stakes" were material and human resources, the control of land, the ownership of major means of production and distribution on national and international levels.

When Malcolm said, "I'm not an American," he was expressing a conclusion that he had arrived at after a thorough analysis of the concrete historical conditions that have confronted Afrikans in the U.S. Malcolm described those as colonialism. Today, he might call them neo-colonialism.

The colonial oppression of Afrikans in the U.S. helped Malcolm to understand colonialism elsewhere, and helped him to begin forming bonds of worldwide solidarity with other colonized peoples against capitalist imperialism, "as the slave system in the West is called." Malcolm's understanding of the world system of imperialism, in turn, sharpened his understanding of the colonial oppression of Afrikans in the U.S.

Malcolm's analysis of the concrete conditions inside the U.S. and throughout the world led him to the conclusion that the fundamental contradiction in the world — the fundamental problem facing Afrikans in the U.S. — was one posing "them" against "us." Malcolm initially posed this contradiction in racial terms, and later he more accurately pointed toward "international capitalism" as the real enemy, because Afrikans in the U.S. and elsewhere were and are oppressed "for economic reasons," and not because of the color of our skin, i.e., "racism" is a mere tool used by international capitalism and colonialism; it's a shadow that far too often diverts our attention away from the substance.

II

With our attention now on the "substance," where and how do We begin? We could look toward Malcolm for some examples, and We can say that he began with proper orientation, study, and struggle.

We will receive our orientation from our philosophies, ideologies, and theories. At this stage of struggle, much of our orientation will be provided by a common strategic line on the need to concentrate our efforts among the masses, in work to realize a "revolutionary democratic program."

At bottom, no matter what may be our differing philosophical, ideological, or theoretical positions, We all must work with and for the masses, around "food, clothing, and shelter" issues — or be

left by the wayside. We can tackle these issues in our usual separate and ineffective ways, or We can tackle them together, combining and coordinating our resources in the form of a national revolutionary democratic front.

More than this, however, our orientation must be genuinely and consistently revolutionary. Putting all nuance and vacillation aside, the only way to be genuinely and consistently revolutionary in the real world is to fight to bring about the downfall of international capitalism and for the rise of socialism. Anything less than this would not be a creative development of Malcolm's legacy.

This is the kind of orientation that We must have, and it's the kind of orientation that We must promote in our work among the masses. Only the insincere or the misguided, or people who otherwise aren't carrying forward Malcolm's legacy, would hesitate to promote such revolutionary concepts and programs among the masses of our people. That such concepts won't be readily embraced in most quarters is no excuse for not promoting them. That capitalism needs to fall, and socialism needs to rise, is the truth. And, as Malcolm would say, We're gonna tell the truth whether people like it or not.

Initial orientation must be reinforced, refined. We must study. Again, turning to Malcolm, We see that, once oriented, he began to prepare himself for the many battles that he knew were ahead of him. Not only did he raise his basic literacy skills, but he studied a variety of subjects. He sharpened and tested skills and ideas (e.g., debates), and he began to teach as part of his learning process. He dialectically combined theory and practice, study and struggle.

We can begin in a similar way, by consciously organizing and orientating our study groups, our networks, our social investigation committees, our research projects, our community action task forces, our strategic studies institutes, and our international policy boards.

All thought, all theory and ideas must be linked to forms of practice. When We organize "study groups" We're organizing people. The objective is to organize people that aren't already organized or that aren't organized to carry forward Malcolm's legacy.

Pan Africanist Congress of Azania
Women's Department

Statement delivered by Elizabeth Sibeko
Secretary for Women's Affairs of PAC
During the observance of the International
Day of Solidarity With the Struggle of Women in Azania
(South Africa)

August 9, 1991 - U.N., New York

Chairman
Distinguished Delegates
Members of the Special Committee Against Apartheid
Invited Guests
Comrades and Friends.

May I, on behalf of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, the Custodian of the genuine aspirations of the dispossessed, oppressed, exploited but struggling people of Azania, greet this august body. Since the establishment of August 9th as an International Day of Solidarity with the struggle of the Women of Azania (South Africa), we of the PAC have always enjoyed the participation in the observance of this day. For that we are grateful to the Special Committee against Apartheid.

When the U.N. realized in 1975 that nearly three quarters of the world's population was represented by women, and that despite that fact, this section of human population was still oppressed, discriminated against and exploited, and their contribution to society was not given proper recognition, it decided to call a World Conference on Women, which was referred to as the U.N. Decade for Women, to try and honestly observe, study and attempt to address this anomalous situation. The theme of the Decade was: Equality, Development and Peace!

Mr. Chairman, we emphasize the fact that our struggle in occupied Azania is for National Liberation and self-determination. The U.N. Charter spells it unambiguously, that self-determination is an inalienable right of every nation on the face of the earth — the right to determine one's destiny. Azania is no exception, Mr. Chairman. That is why we have waged the struggle over 300 years against the dispossessor and oppressor in Azania. That is why there has been resistance by the oppressed in that country such as the Bambatha Insurrection, the Battle of Isandlwana, the Positive Action Campaign led by the PAC on March 21st 1960 which led to the Sharpeville Massacre, the 1976 Student Uprising known as the Soweto Uprising and subsequent National uprisings. These were all as a result of the correct analysis of the struggle in our country — a struggle we have analyzed as Colonialism. It has not been a smooth reception we have received from those quarters who have simply analyzed our struggle as one of mere racial discrimination characterized by the Apartheid policies. This latter analysis of our struggle simply says: Once Apartheid laws and discriminative policies have been removed then the process will permit everybody to participate freely in the affairs of their country.

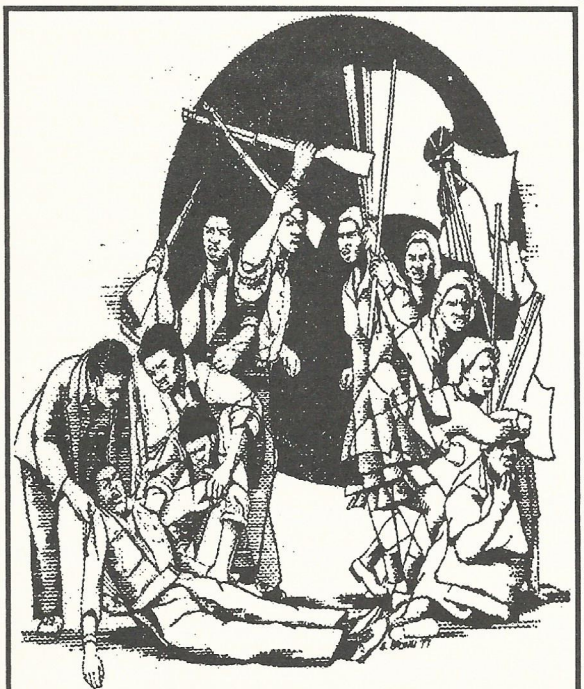
The reality of the situation is that the obnoxious Apartheid-Colonial system which has been universally discredited and branded as a Crime against Humanity must be completely dismantled and a completely new society must emerge. The situation demands a fundamental change!

One of the greatest conflicts which is the land

issue in our country has been said to have had its Acts of 1913 and 1936 repealed recently. These two Acts, i.e., the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts had deprived the indigenous Africans of 87% of the arable land. In the process, the Africans were-overcrowded in 13% of the most barren and infertile land. This part of Azania was cut up into small pieces known as the Bantustans or Homelands. Mr. Chairman, we, the Azanian people want to know what exactly repealing of the Land Acts means to us, the dispossessed? Is the racist regime repealing the Acts so that the dispossessed African majority's landlessness be redressed by redistributing it? Or is it going to be left to the market forces to give it to the highest bidder? These vital questions remain crucial to the overwhelming landless majority of our people to date.

Connected to the land question, Mr. Chairman, is the squatter situation in our country. The squatters are everywhere and they live in appalling conditions. Today, Mr. Chairman, is the observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the struggling Women of Azania. The most affected part of the population in the squatter issue, are women and their families who are ruthlessly uprooted from their homes and thrown into the middle of nowhere, in the midst of poverty, despair and hopelessness!

As recently as last month, i.e., July, the "City Press" of July 14, 1991 reported a sad story of squatters in the Vaal area — in a farm called Orange Farm near Evaton where scores of people were bulldozed from the shacks they were living in. The paper carried a picture of a highly pregnant young woman whose shack, like so many, had been bulldozed out of existence by none other than the Transvaal Provincial Administration using the police. In another similar incident 60 homes were razed to the ground without prior warning! One homeless shack dweller remarked, "Officials told us that if we paid 100 Rands to the Provincial Administration, we would be allocated sites in Orange Farm's Extension 3. Whilst we were still waiting for the officials to come back to us, we were suddenly pounced upon by hundreds of police and TPA vehicles at about 9 AM Friday and ordered off the land. A bulldozer was brought in and flattened most of the shacks, leaving people's belongings scattered all over the place."

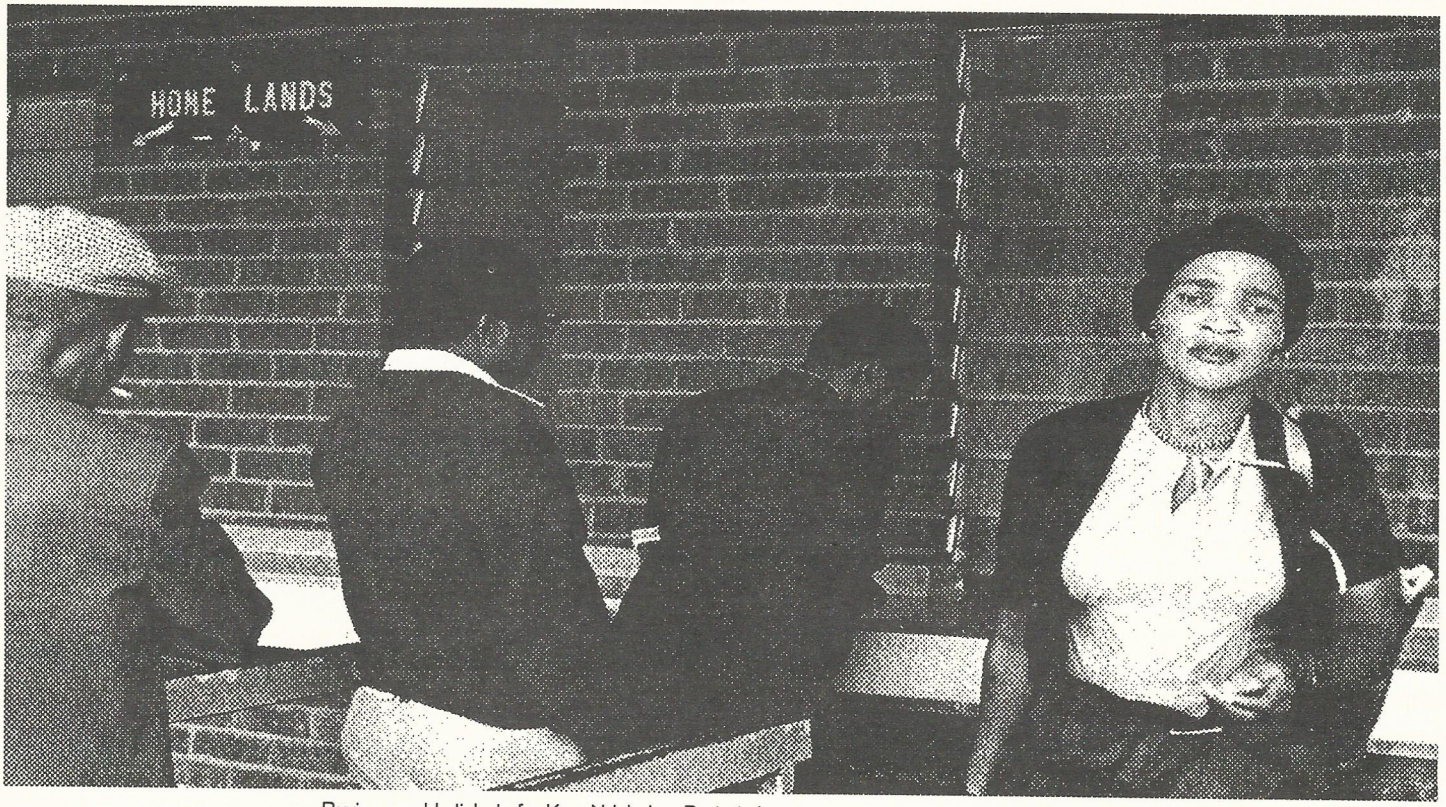


VIVA PAC!
Long Live the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army!

In yet another similar incident in the Cape, 19 people were arrested for refusing to move from the land on which they squatted as they had nowhere to go. As if the kicking around of homeless sqatters was not enough, Africans met with physical resistance and verbal threats from public places where the Separate Amenities Act had been fostered previously. These incidents, Mr. Chairman, fly in the face of so-called changes in South Africa. The South African press is full of reports of racial confrontation between Africans and whites — especially the police in places like parks, swimming pools, etc..

Mr. Chairman, I am trying here to paint the real picture in our country for the benefit of those who are impatient, for those who think that a system which has been rightly condemned as a Crime Against Humanity can be reformed! This, bear in mind, Distinguished Delegates and Friends, is — after DeKlerk's grand tour of the world to try and convince it that Apartheid is now dead!

The reformist posture of DeKlerk's seeks to relax international pressure on the regime's economy. "Despite their pronouncements to the contrary, economic and financial sanctions imposed on the regime had been hitting the economy very hard, to a point where it had undermined investors' confidence." We thus regret that President Bush has lifted the Anti-Apartheid Sanctions sponsored by Congress in 1986 against the regime. We, the Azanian people, feel that no lifting of any kind of sanctions should be put into effect as long as the regime's state machinery, i.e., the Political, Mili-



Buying weekly tickets for Kwa Ndebele - Pretoria bus routes Photo by David Goldbatt

tary, economic and social power is still intact. We feel that no sanctions should be lifted until Azanian women, who are part of Women of the World, are able to participate freely as human beings in the affairs of their country. So that together with other women from all over the world, they can be able to address the women issue under the U.N. Decade Theme: Equality, Development, and Peace!

Mr. Chairman, that situation can be realized if F.W. DeKlerk is honest enough to allow the calling of a Constituent Assembly as this is the only Democratic Formula that would usher in liberation and freedom on the basis of one person, one vote on a common. voters roll in a non-racial and democratic Azania.

Our primary objective, Mr. Chairman, is the complete dismantling of Apartheid by bringing about a new Constitution which will have been written by elected Representatives or Delegates through a Constituent Assembly. This is the Democratic Formula the PAC proposes.

On the other hand, Mr. Chairman, F.W. DeKlerk proposes that the new Constitution be drawn up by "Invited Participants" through a multi-party conference. The criterion put forward here, "proven support" whatever that means, is unacceptable to us and the overwhelming majority of the oppressed. It is undemocratic to say the least. "Participation in the Constituent Assembly will be proportionate to the percentage of votes a political party receives. This democratic solution will ensure the participation of all."

Addressing the joint PAC/ANC National Executive Committee meeting's opening ceremony of a United Front between the two organizations in Harare, Zimbabwe on April 15, 1991, President Clarence Makwethu, National President of PAC, stated (referring to the Constituent Assembly) "This democratic formula enjoys the growing support at grass-root level in our country. The PAC National Congress adopted it. The ANC Consultative Congress adopted it. On February 1, 1991, a quarter of a million people marched in Cape Town, Pretoria and Soweto demanding the establishment of an elected Constituent Assembly as the only democratic way of ushering in genuine democracy in our country."

Mr. Chairman, this is the genuine demand of the overwhelming majority in Azania. The Azanian women who are observing this solemn occasion today, are part and parcel of that overwhelming majority of the oppressed! To us, the struggling women of Azania, the ushering in of genuine Democracy on the basis of one person, one vote on a

common voter's roll in Azania cannot be overemphasized.

In my earlier remarks, I referred to the theme of the U.N. Decade for Women which is: Equality, Development and Peace. But there are prerequisites to this important theme. In Azania African women have been denied all the above. Peace, which we consider to be very important to a people and its country, has never been there in my country.

This leads us to the serious issue plaguing Azania at this very moment, the issue of Violence. The violence which is in the African Community in occupied Azania, looks to the outsider as "Black on Black Violence." Yet we, the Azanian people, have proved beyond reasonable doubt that this violence is state sponsored. It is violence that flows directly and indirectly from the policy and programmer of the racist regime. We have no doubt that this violence is the same violence that was used by the regime to destabilize the Frontline States. It is indeed an inverse destabilization programmer against the Liberation Movement.

Thus this great stratagem to try and prove that despite the unmanning of the Liberation Movements, they have failed to maintain order in the Townships; therefore this is proof to DeKlerk and his supporters that the NLM cannot be a contending force to run the affairs of the country.

The escalating violence, Mr. Chairman, had baffled our people in the way it is carried out. "The violence is programmed judiciously, controlled and cleverly orchestrated. It has the hallmark of military commando type operation and efficiency. The regime is using foreign elements to carry out their dirty work. They employ the services and well motivated agents in the state apparatus, such as Buffallo Battalion 32, Koevoet, CCB, Right Wing paramilitary groups, Askaris, Etc.. These mercenaries come from war-torn Angola, Mozambique, and Namibia. They carry out the atrocities without any feeling. Recent revelations involving Adrian Vlok, Magnus Malan, the Defence Minister, and Pik Botha, the Foreign Minister, further discredit the regime's recently built image. Do the friends of the regime view DeKlerk as the man who has brought meaningful change and deserves reward?

The Azanian women appeal to the international community to maintain sanctions and to those countries who have relaxed or lifted the ban to rethink the actions until a genuine change under a new Constitution drawn on the basis of one person one vote comes about!

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, the PAC Women's Department appeals for assistance to support projects inside Azania to be run by its women. Off hand the women plan to run:

A) A bakery as an income generating project.

B) A silk-screening and fabric printing project.

C) A health project that will be run by its own medical team in the rural areas.

D) A nursery and preschool.

E) A child-care center.

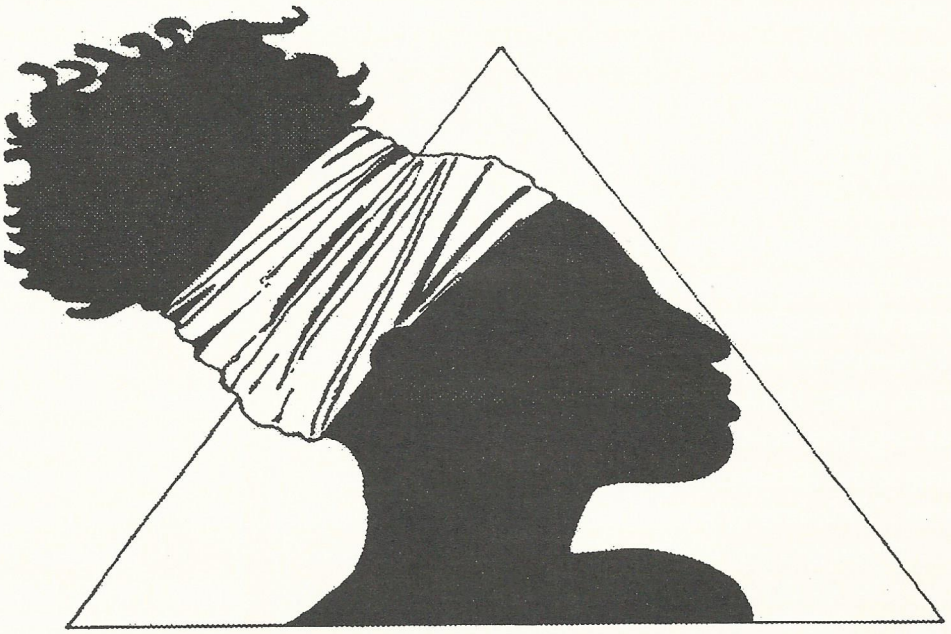
F) Poultry and live-stock farm project.

G) A shoe making project.

H) Transport to assist in the above projects.

In addition to these projects the women appeal for fellowships especially in the field of Science and Technology and in Vocational training.

I thank you Sir.



TARIK BLACKLISTED CO-INTEL PRO CONTINUES FUNDS SOUGHT

TARIK JAMES HASKINS **8-12-91**

As most prisoners of war know, because I was one time or another with you at a federal prison during the 70s or 80s or earlier this year, I am a former Black Liberation Army prisoner of war whose name was on the prisoner of war list. I was released from federal prison on June 14th after having served 17 years. ~For those of you who do not know me, I was arrested in May of 1974 in New Haven, Connecticut following a bank robbery which was done to secure money that was to be earmarked for breaking people out of prison. The unit I was in was also accused of attempting to breakout some prisoners of war from the Tombs jail (the Manhattan house of detention in New York City. My involvement in the struggle to liberate humankind, liberate humankind from negative/ destructive ways, the struggle to free minds-territory, dates back to 1969.

I am the author of numerous articles that I am sure some of you have read them. I just recently finished two pamphlets which, I think, are seminal to helping one deal with the emotional storms in life and in the struggle. I believe that healthy minded people are on our side, the side of of progressive ideas. And I believe that those who do not do not possess a healthy mind and who desires to have one can be given the tools to develop one and thereafter they will be on our side. To this end, to contribute to people developing a healthy mind, I wrote the two recent pamphlets to address the dissolution of negative emotional states. The titles are no more than mere road signs that point out that negative emotional states exist. The important thing is the dissolution of the negative emotional states. This is why you should read both pamphlets even if you are not overweight nor do you smoke. The titles of the pamphlets are: *Weight Loss: dissolving the causes that have led to overeating;* and, *Peace - Quitting Smoking - Hope.*

In regard to me needing funds, allow me to present the following information for your consideration. First, I am not from Hartford, Connecticutut. I passed through here 17 years ago while on my way to and while coming back from another place. I am from Brooklyn, New York. Before leaving prison I was told that the parole officials in N.Y. had prohibited me from living in N.Y. because I did not have a job there. I am in the process of appealing their decision. So, actually I am being confined to the penal colony of Connecticut. (of course New York is also a penal colony but I am confined to the one in Connecticut.)

Before leaving prison I was ordered to stay in a halfway house for 4 months, which was their lawful method of extending my sentence by 4 months. At the halfway house there is the rule that one must try to find work or risk being sent back to prison. Because I needed a job, pay checks to buy food, clothes, etc., and to save money to rent a room (I do not Smoke or Drink), I accepted two job recommendations from the halfway house officials. While on both jobs I learned that they were mini-prisons, most of the people there were ex-cons. Nevertheless, I worked at both sites and I was able to buy some food and clothes and save a little for future rent. Not surprising though, the officials had a hand in causing me to loose both lobs.

Just prior to leaving the halfway house I was unable to find a room to rent. So, when I got out of the halfway house prison, I decided to move to the YMCA for a temporary place to stay. (The rooms at the "Y" are among the most expensive in this city.)

Because the officials took steps which resulted in me loosing my job, shortly after staying at

the "Y" I was without a pay check and I had to result to using up my savings to pay rent. Consequently, I exhausted my savings. Thereafter, I moved out of the "Y" to a shelter: I now stay at the shelter at night and during the day I camp out with my property at various sites. Certainly I am experiencing the situations talked about above because the police agencies are still waging Co-intel Pro operations against me - progressive revolutionaries.

In view of the above, to spare me further hardship that many others before have had to endure, send whatever amount of funds that you are able to: Tarik James Haskins 34 Huyshope Avenue, Hartford, Ct.. Moreover, if you desire a copy of the pamphlets talked about include mention of this in your letter.

In Struggle.

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An article by Italy's Red Brigades, planned for this issue of **CROSSROAD** *will, hopefully, be printed at a later date.*

Atiba Shanna

CROSSROAD *will be published four times a year, in May, August, November and February at $3.00 for people on the outside and $1.50 for prisoners. Please note that all correspondence, including submissions, regarding* **CROSSROAD** *and any other matters should be directed to:*

Spear & Shield Publications
1340 W. Irving Park, Suite 108,
Chicago, Illinois 60613.

We apologize to our loyal **CROSSROAD** *readers and subscribers for the long haitus, one reason for which has been our lack of funds. We are now beginning an on-going drive to solicit financial donations and people willing to act as Spear and Shield sustainers, providing regular donations of $25.00, $50.00, $100.00, or more to help ensure the survival of* **CROSSROAD**, ***VITA WA WATU***, *and of Spear and Shield itself. This will also help with the expansion of a number of other future Spear and Shield projects.*

We are also seeking people who are willing to act as local distributors of CROSSROAD and other Spear and Shield publications. If you and/or someone you know are interested, please contact us as soon as possible.